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SHORT HISTORY OF THE P.S.I.I.

(CHRONOLOGICAL)

- INDONESIA -

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FOREWORD

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SHORT HISTORY OF THE P.S.I.I.

(CHRONOLOGICAL)

[Following is the translation of a brochure entitled "Kerangka Sadjarah PSSI (Kronologie)" (English version above), published by the Institute of History of the Dept. of General Affairs of P.S.I.I., Djakarta, Indonesia.]

[P.S.I.I. - Partai Sjarikat Islam Indonesia - Party of the Indonesian Islamic Union]

Introduction.

Bismillahi'rrahmani'rrahim [Arabic: In the name of Allah, the God of Mercy, the Merciful].

On this 10 September 1960, Partai S.I. Indonesia will be 48 years old. There is no doubt that since its birth on 10 September 1912, our Party, as the oldest Party in Indonesia, has become rich in experience. Yet we could not have made such significant progress if we did not have any control over our experiences and if we did not learn from the past. Only a Party which can learn a valuable lesson from its past -- only a Party which is able to use its experiences in facing the future -- only such a Party deserves to become a large Party. Large in its true sense of the word.

Large in the number of members, strong in its discipline, consistent in its ideology, organization and policies.

Forty-eight years are long enough for the History of the Country to witness the greatness of the aims of Sjarikat Islam [Islam Union]; the ability of Sjarikat Islam to pioneer the People's movement to achieve national independence. The road we are taking is long still. Patience, perseverance and diligence in our task are necessary still. Naturally, next to our Program Asas and Program Tandzim (State program and program for the Struggle of PSII) with the Constitution of the Party, the history of the struggle of the Party will be like a shining Lighthouse in the midst of the darkness of a great ocean in pursuing the high aims of Partai S.I. That is:

To follow Islam as fully and as widely as possible so
that we can attain a true Islam World
and a true Moslem Life,

Which is: a just and prosperous Society, physically
spiritually; a solid and independent democratic society which continues to grow and which advances, strong and modern, and with respect to the Islam faith.

A Society of Socialism à la Indonesia with the blessing of Almighty Allah, a Society of Baldatun Tojjibatun Wa Rabbun Ghafoer [Arabic, possibly "with justice, pros-

perity and peace"7 for all the People.

By understanding the above, I am convinced that the Short History of the Sjarikat Islam Party, which is modest chronological form, will be studied by S.I. worker and will be in the possession of every loyal follower. It is further hoped that this brochure is a good beginning in compiling a more complete history of S.I., the task of which is now being planned by the Party.

Allah Willing.-

Djakarta, 5 July 1960

Institute of History

Department of General Affairs P.S.I.I.

Executive Board of P.S.I.I.

President:

(Abikusno Tjokrosujoso)

Acting Secr. General:

(H. Ahmad Masruri)

Vice-President.

Short History of Sjarikat Islam Party.

Year 1909

1. By the efforts of Mr. R.M. Tirtohadisurjo in Bogor, "Sjarikat Dagang Islam" [Islam Commercial Union] was established in 1909. S.D.I. was well received by the People and within a short time it grew extensive into all areas. In Solo, S.D.I. was established under the leadership of Mr. H. Samanhudi, a batik trader in Lawijan [part of the town of Solo]. And by that time a daily newspaper was published in Djokjakarta, called "Sarotomo" [Old Javanese phrase meaning "Noble Aims"].

2. With the establishment of the Chinese Republic by Dr. Sun Jat Sen, a sharp competition in commerce^{existed} between our people and the Chinese. Finally, an association called "Darmo Batmoko" [Old Javanese: "aid Endeavours"] was established as assistance to S.D.I. in this economic struggle.

Year 1912

3. On 12 August 1912 S.D.I. was prohibited to operate (by the Sunanate at the instructions of the Resident) because S.D.I. was considered to have disturbed public peace (disturbance of public law and order). Houses were then searched with no results. And finally on 26 August 1912, the prohibition was withdrawn and S.I. [sic] was in

operation again.

4. The propaganda of S.D.I. was very effective. With the outbreak of an epidemic, which mostly hit the Chinese population, many shops were closed as a result of it. This created some unrest among our people which in turn induced them to expand their own commercial endeavours. For that purpose the masses flooded (entered into) the organization of Sjarikat Dagang Islam (S.D.I.).

5. On 10 September 1912 the Constitution of Sjarikat Islam [Islam Union] was ratified before the Notary through the efforts of our friends in Solo, while full powers were given to R.M. 'Umar Za'id Tjokroaminoto who at that time was employed by a commercial office in Surabaya. On 14 September of that year, Government approval was requested. (It was 10 September 1912 which was established as the date of birth of S.I. with a more progressive movement program).
Year 1913: M.T. [Madjelis Taklim, an Arabic phrase for Congress]-I in Surabaya.

6. On 26 January 1913 the first Congress of Sjarikat Islam was organized at the City Park of Surabaya. The Congress was attended by tens of thousands of people. At that time S.I. already became a strong People's movement and the Sjarikat Islam Central Committee was established as the Supreme Organization of the local Committees of Sjarikat Is-

lan which mushroomed throughout the country. The characteristic was still Social-economical with national and religious spirit. At that time H. Samanhudi became President and R.M.O.S. Tjckroaminoto Vice-President of the S.I. Central Committee.

7. On 29 March 1913, the management of the Central Committee met with the Dutch Governor General. In the ensuing conversation agreement was evident on the Constitution of S.I. which aimed at the raising of the People's standard on education and economy. But before any decision could be taken, the government wished to observe and wished to request the consideration of the government advisers. On 30 June 1913 a government decision was received in which was stated: "S.I. cannot be legalized". Not because the Government did not agree, but because the Constitution contained a provision that Indonesian nationals who could become members of S.I. must have already reached the age of 18 years. And the second reason was: that the Government was not convinced that the S.I. Central Committee had the ability to control its members, particularly the common people who did not have any education whatsoever.

During that time, the membership increased daily and because of moral and physical pressure was applied by the rules, excesses (unexpected incidents) arose in some places like Djambi, Borneo, Rembang (Lasem) and others. But it did

not affect S.I., particularly because the Central Committee was not responsible for those local incidents.

Year 1915

8. Day by day more local S.I. Committees came into being. And in 1915 a permanent Central Committee and permanent Local Committees of S.I. were established so that the Committees were no longer provisional in character.

Year 1916

9. On 18 March 1916 the Constitution of the Central S.I. was approved by the Government.

10. At that time, there was Indonesian Nationalism at all, but rather provincial nationalism, such as Javanese, Sundanese, Sumatran, Buginese, Borneo and other nationals who were already on the move to bring changes in their lot.

M.T. - II [Second Congress] in Bandung.

S.I. made efforts to organize a "Nationaal Indisch Congress or NATICO, i.e. the first National Indonesian Congress, (held from 17 to 24 July 1916, then as an effort to "unify the nation") which could arise "Indonesian Nationalism". Under the leadership of R.M.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, NATICO - I was attended by representatives of 80 Local S.I. Committees from all over Indonesia with a combined membership of 360,000 people. During that period, outside influences already entered S.I., among others the influence

of socialism which were elements for the preparation for the establishment of the Social Democratic Labor Association, the Indies Party and the like (NATICO - I was held in Bandung).

Year 1917 M.T. - III in Djakarta.

11. On 20 until 27 October 1917, NATICO - II was held in Batavia (Djakarta). The problems which were discussed then were the problems relating to private lands [Government-owned land leased to private enterprises], religious councils, leasing of land, sugar factories, courts of law, home improvement, self-government, nationalism, or in short. S.I. National Congress began with its political struggle.

12. By the end of 1917, "Indie Weerbaar" [Dutch: "It dies Defensible"] and the "National Committee" were formed composed of various kinds of associations, among others with the aim to welcome the establishment of the Volksraad [People's Council] which was to be brought into being by the Government. But these efforts failed because the various associations preferred to stress their own interests. S.I. already discussed the question of the People's Council during NATICO - I, in which two opinions emerged, i.e. for and against. The proponents were headed by Abdul Muis. The opponents based their position particularly on their contention that the nature of the People's Council was not democratic.

In spite of it, the Congress resolved to send its representatives

sentative so that the voice of the people would receive the attention of the Government.

Year 1918. M.T. - IV in Surabaya.

13. The Volksraad [People's Council] held its first session in 1918. The representatives of S.I. were A. Muis as an elected member and O.S. Tjokroaminoto as an appointed member. The struggle for the interest of the people really began.

14. From 29 September until 6 October 1918, NATICO - [considered as M.T. (Congress) - IV by S.I.] was held in Surabaya. It was attended by representatives of 87 S.I. Locals which had a combined membership of 450,000 people. It demanded in particular the abolishment of forced labor, reduction of taxes, expansion of education, a solution for the problems related to private lands and others, for the welfare of the common people. The spirit of the leadership was at that time influenced by Marxist-Socialism and International-Socialism. Some incidents occurred in Kudus and Demak because of lack of understanding of it on the part of local leadership.

15. On 16 November 1918, a federation was formed by S.I., I.S.D.V. [Indies Social-Democratic Association], and B.O. [Boedi Oetomo - Noble Endeavour]. It was called Radical Concentration and aimed at marshalling efforts to persuade the Government to form a true Parliament (which efforts unfortunately could not bring satisfactory results).

Year 1919. M.T. - V in Surabaja.

16. From 26 October until 2 November 1919, the IV NATICO S.I. National Congress was held in Surabaja. The Congress at that time was burning with the spirit of struggle against "sinful capitalism" and was conducted with the motto "Poor People, Unite!"

On 5 June 1919, unrest broke out in Toli-toli, North Celebes, during which time a Controller [Dutch Civil Service subordinate to the Dutch Head of an area or district] (J.P. de Kat Angelino), an Indonesian Official and several Government employees were assassinated. And also on 5 June 1919, the famous "Section B affair" or "the Tjimarame Case" took place in Bandung, which was used as a reason for the Government for not allowing any new S.I. Locals to be incorporated. (But because the entire S.I. had already obtained the "right for assembly", S.I. continued to exist and grew). At that time, the total membership of S.I. was not less than 2,250,000 people.

17. Also during the IV NATICO (S.I. National Congress) it was resolved that: S.I. established the Political Committee, Committee for Religious Affairs, Common Law Committee, Labor Movement Committee and Committee for Cooperatives.

All those Committees were to be directly connected with the Committee of the Forces of the Prophet Mohamad and with the "Djawa Dwipa" Committee. [See explanation]

[In order to be able to appreciate the possible impact of the "Djawa Dwipa" (or Djowo Dipo) movement, the following may be of assistance:

The Javanese language -- and also Sundanese and Madurese, which are, like Javanese, still spoken in Java -- is divided into two main levels: ngoko (common) and kromo (high or polite). The latter is further divided in madio-kromo (medium) and kromo-inggil (high). Thus, we have --

- a. ngoko,
- b. madio-kromo, and
- c. kromo-inggil,

without going into a still more refined (or higher) form used in the Courts of Nobility.

A word used on one level is usually different from a word with the same meaning used on a different level, e.g. the word for "I" is "aku" for level (a), "kulo" for level (b), and "dalem" for level (c).

The use of either level, in spoken as well as in written form, depends on the position of the first person as compared to the position of the second person. This position, based on age, social status, aristocratic level, social or blood relationship, etc., is established by the first person himself in accordance with tradition and "breeding". Age usually holds the priority over other considerations.

A younger person, then, addressing an older person o

the same social status would use level (b) because he places himself on level (a) or lower level than (b). But in addressing an older person or a person of the same age (or even young but of a higher social status, he would use level (c) unless he knows the second person very well, in which case he might get away with using level (b).

An older person addressing a younger person of the same social status invariably would use level (a), but would use level (b) or even (c) if the second person is of higher social status.

The ability to use the levels correctly is considered to reflect good manners and good breeding.

"Djawa Dwipa" -- and other Dwipa movements -- aimed at abolishing the system of levels was an obvious effort to combat feudalistic traditions. Dwipa or Dipo is an Old-Javanese word (Sanskrit) meaning Great, Large or Strong. It sometimes means Elephant or Elephant-like, indicating strength. It is also one of the nick-names of one of the Five Pandava (Satrya characters of Mahabharata), who, in Javanese Wayang or shadow-plays, consistently refuses to use any other than "ngoko" (level a.)

The latter Committee, the Djawa Dwipa, recommended the abolition of the different levels in the language used for the nobility and the common people -- so that there would remain only: Sunda-Dwipa, Djawa-Dwipa, Madura-Dwipa and the

like, i.e. the use of the low language level for whoever the person might be. The feeling and spirit of equality hoped for by the movement started to catch fire.

Year 1920.

18. Beginning in 1920, several people purposely twisted the aims of S.I. which have always been based on Islam. The Communist Darsono made S.I. (Sjarikat Islam) into another S.I. (Sjarikat Internasional - International Union). There were others who changed S.I. into Sjarikat India [Indies Union]. In the meantime, the organization and the ideology S.I. went deeper into the thesis of "Wargo Rumekso" or "Wai Pangrekso" which trained each member to be always vigilant [Wargo Rumekso - from Old Javanese words "Wargo" (individual or citizen) and "Rekso" (care or maintenance)].

Because the leadership of the S.I. Central Committee persistently stressed and defended the purity of the aims of the organization, the Communist pressures were repulsed. In an effort to bend the political line of Sjarikat Islam towards another direction, the Communists started a despicable campaign by libeling the leaders of S.I. in order to make them lose their influence over the great masses of People. Also because of the many streams in S.I. which were really after the same aims, "S.I. - Anjar" [New S.I.] was established in Sukabumi, "Sarekat Sedjati" [True Union] in Semarang, "Sarekat Setia-Warga" [Loyal Union] in South and

East Borneo. (But each one of them could not last because because they did not stand on a reasonable basis).

Year 1921. M.T. - VI in Jogja [or Djokjakarta].

19. Natico - V was held in Djokjakarta from 2 until 6 March 1921, in which the Communists brought tremendous opposition to bear upon the S.I. Central Committee. During the V-S.I. National Congress, the principles regarding Party discipline were discussed. The opposition by the Communists was also applied outside the Congress by contemptible ways and means, i.e. by insulting and libeling the leadership of S.I. Also discussed in the Congress - V was the change of S.I. into a Party: - Partai S.I.

20. M.T. - VII in Surabaya. NATICO - VI was held in Surabaya from 6 until 10 October 1921. R.M. O.S. Tjokroam not could not attend because he was in preventive custody. The leadership was then in the hands of H.A. Salim and Abdul Muis. The VI - S.I. National Congress resolved the Party Discipline with regard to the other political parties. It was that members of S.I. were prohibited to become members of other political parties. With this resolution, the attack on S.I. by the Communists increased. Labor organizations of S.I. were grabbed by the Communists and several branches of S.I. became red, by the name "Red S.I.".

Year 1922.

2. In 1922, efforts were made to organize an Al-Islam

Congress to arise the cooperative spirit among the Moslems, within the ranks of S.I. as well as outside.

Year 1923. M.T. - VIII in Madiun. NATICO - VII was held from 17 until 22 February 1923. This seventh Congress

became of bitter friction between S.I. Party and the group of revisionists who called themselves Communists openly.

From that time on, S.I. became a truly political party and adopted the name: Partai Sjarikat Islam Hindia Timur [P.S.I.H.T. - East Indies Islam Union Party]. The party discipline was strengthened. With it, all communistic leaders of S.I. were forced to resign. It meant that the world of Party S.I. was purged of the communist influence. It was a victory for P.S.I. Hindia Timur.

It is necessary to note that in 1923, a women movement called "S.I. - Wanodya" emerged from the ranks of S.I. And it was in 1923 that Provincial Congresses began to be held, among others in Borneo and in Celebes. In the meantime, the spirit of Islam expanded, bringing with it the ideas of Pan Islamism -- Unifying all followers of Islam in the world and participating in the discussion on the question of Chilaqah, the Supreme Leadership for all followers of Islam in the world!

23. Al-Islam Congress - II was held in Gaurl, in which the basis of S.I. still reflected its marxist ten-

dencies, but at the same time the principles of Islam became stronger and more solid, which created a concrete understanding about the concepts of the political principles which included - Socialism in Islam.

Year 1924. M.T. - IX in Surabaya.

24. In 1924, S.I. Congress was held and its principal resolution was that of Non-Cooperation by which P.S.I., Partai Sjarikat Islam, no longer intended to send its representatives to the [provincial and People's] councils. The members of S.I. were to be allowed to become members of those councils only if they did not bring with them the name of the Party.

25. In 1924, a special Al-Islam Congress was held and resolved the intention to send a representative to the "Pan Islamic Conference" in Cairo. The Special Al-Islam Congress was held in Surabaya.

Year 1925. M.T. - X in Jogja.

26. The Al-Islam Congress was held concurrently with the P.S.I. Congress in Djokjakarta in 1925. Its main resolutions were about the problems of the education of the people (People's Education), non-cooperation (refusing to cooperate with the overlords), and others which gave Partai Sjarikat Islam its principal characteristics of Internationalism and Mono-humanism [probably meaning "Monocidism"].

Year 1926.

27. In 1926, representatives were sent to the Mu'tamar Alamyl Islamy [Arabic, meaning Islam World Conference] in Arabia. The representatives were R.M. O.S. Tjokroaminoto, Partai S.I. and H.M. Mansur of Muhammadijah.

28. On the return of the representatives, Mu'tamar Alamil Islamy Far'ul Hindissjarqijjah [Arabic, possibly meaning Conference of All Islam Followers in the Indies] was established, or abbreviated into M.A.I.H.S.

29. H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto [H.O.S. stands for Hadj' Oemar Said -- Tjokroaminoto became a Hadj' after his pilgrimage to Mecca while attending the Islam World Congress] was appointed [by the Government] a member of the People's Council, but he rejected the appointment. During the first Congress of M.A.I.H.S. in Bogor in 1926, it was among others resolved to submit a request to the Government not to interfere in questions relating to the Islam religion.

Year 1927. M.T. - XI in Pekalongan.

30. The P.S.I.H.T. Congress seconded the M.A.I.H.S. resolution. Also in the S.I. Congress, which was held in Pekalongan in 1927, were discussed the establishment of Majelis 'Ulama [Religious Teachers Council], the relationship between the Party and the League to fight Imperialism and Capitalism, the establishment of Ançarul Ha-

remain Arabic, meaning not known⁷, and plans to establish the "Permufakatan Party² Politik Kebangsaan Indonesia (P.P. P.K.I. - Consultation of National Indonesian Political Parties). Also in that year, S.I.A.P. (Sjarikat Islam Afdeling Padvinderij - Boy Scouts of Sjarikat Islam) was established in Djokjakarta.

Year 1928. M.T. - XII in Pekalongan.

31. In 1928, the P.S.I. Congress was again held in Pekalongan during which the 15th anniversary of the Party and the services rendered by H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto were observed. The slogan of that Congress was Karso (Intention), Kawoso (Power) and Mardiko (Independence).

Year 1929. M.T. - XIII in Djakarta.

32. In 1929, S.I. held its Congress in Djakarta (Batavia) together with M.O.I. (Madjelis Oelama Indonesia - Indonesian Religious Teachers Council) and S.I.A.P. (Boy Scouts of Sjarikat Islam). There the finances of the Party started to be organized by the formation of Department of Finance for the Party. The name P.S.I. Hindia Timur was changed into Party Sjarikat Islam Indonesia. M.O.I. discussed the problems of usury and the establishment of Bank Qiradh Islam Bank enable followers of Islam to go on pilgrimage to Mecca⁷. At that time several Provincial Congresses were also held.

33. In 1930, the Party was retooled by the introduction of the system of Wafd Arabic, also Wa'ad, probably meaning

Promise or Pledge⁷. The Provincial Congress in Pare-pare (Celebes) demanded the abolition of forced labor. General action was taken in all corners to explain to the masses the meaning of non-cooperation, Native majority in the People's Council, and the exit of P.S.I.I. from P.P.P.K.I (because the movement of PPPKI seemed only to be based on National politics). Aside from that, other demands were submitted to the Government.

Year 1931. M.T. - XIV in Surabaya.

34. In 1931, the steps taken by the P.S.I.I. Congress together with Al-Islam (in Surabaya) were directed toward propaganda and the defense of Islam.

35. In 1931 also, the Al-Islam Committee was formed to discuss the fate of the followers of Islam in Tripoli (as a result of the aggressive act of Italy in that Islam area), in Barqah [or Barca or Cyrenaica in Libya] and in other countries. The P.S.I.I. Congress adopted a most important resolution: Swadesji (meeting the needs of the People of Indonesia with the production of the Country itself).

Year 1932.

36. In 1932, several Provincial Congresses were held, among others in West Sumatra.

Year 1933. M.T. - XV in Djakarta.

37. The P.S.I.I. Congress from 5 until 12 March 1933 was held in Batavia Centrum (Djakarta), in which a dispute

arose between the group of Dr. Sukiman and the Party which resulted in the formation of the Partai Islam Indonesia (P.A.R.I.I.) and Ladrjah Markazijah [Arabic, probably meaning Headquarters] Partai Sjarikat Islam (L.M. PARSI) in Makassar (These two parties returned into the fold of P.S.I.I. 1937). That Congress also resolved the position of "Hidjra" i.e. not to participate in any council, from the village councils up to the Second Chamber (Parliament in Holland).
Year 1934. M.T. - XVI in Bandung.

38. In 1934, the P.S.I.I. Congress was held in Bandjarnegara, in which among others was discussed the "General Regulations for Moslem Life" as a result of the attitude of the "Islam Community" which was discussed during the 1927 Congress in Pekalongan. The discipline with regard to other parties was also strengthened.

39. On 10 Ramadhan [the ninth month of the Moslem year] which fell on 10 December 1934, the Father and Leader of the Party, the great pioneer of the People's movement, the Honorable H.Umar Sa'id Tjokroaminoto passed away in Djokjakarta (Fa Innaalillahi wa Innaa Ilaihi Radji'cen!) [a verse of the Holy Koran, possibly meaning "Glory be to Allah and unto Allah ye will be brought back" from Surah Ya Sin] and he was buried also in Djokjakarta. The leadership came into the hands of H.A. Salim, who later advanced a new policy,

i.e. cooperation with the Government of the Rulers as the new policy of the Party.

Year 1935. M.T. - XVII. in Malang.

40. The P.S.I.I. Congress in 1935 was held in Malang where the efforts of H.A. Salim failed. Confusion arose at which time Mr. Abikusno Tjokrosujoso, Vice-President of the Central Committee, resigned because the spirit of the Congress remained loyal to the attitude of non-cooperation with the colonial Government.

Year 1936. M.T. - XVIII in Djakarta.

41. The Congress held in Batavia (Djakarta) was full of tension -- friction broke out between those who defended the policy of non-cooperation (Abikusno group) and those who wanted to change it into a policy of Cooperation (H.A.Salim group). The resolution adopted by the Congress was a middle-of-the-road policy, i.e. policy of Hidjrah. This resolution could not be accepted by the group advancing Cooperation and resulted in the resignation of the H.A.Salim group from the P.S.I.I. Organization (formation of Penjadar Party [Conscious Party] which later folded).

Year 1937. M.T. - XIX in Bandung.

42. In 1937, the S.I. Congress was held in Bandung in July, during which among others was resolved: Expansion of P.S.I.I. into other fields (Expansion Plan). In that year, PARTI (Indonesian Islam Party) which was established by the

group of Dr. Sukiman returned to P.S.I.I. (But Dr. Sukiman himself remained outside P.S.I.I.).

Year 1938. M.T.-XX in Surabaya.

43. The 24th P.S.I.I. Congress (should be the XX) was held in Surabaya. That Congress resolved: the determination of the Hidjrah policy, i.e. a positive policy which, aside from staying aloof from the colonial system of Government (by not entering the Councils established by the Netherland Indies Government), stressed the development of the energy and ability of the People toward the right to control and meet the responsibilities for the security of the Nation and the Country (Independent Indonesia).

44. An investigation into the condition of the People (People's Inquiry) was conducted in view of the complaints heard about the livelihood of the People. P.S.I.I. pioneered the formation of Islam Federation, M.I.A.I. (Madjelis Islam A'ala Indonesia).

Year 1939.

45. P.S.I.I. participated in the formation of Gabungan Partai-partai Politik (GAPI) [Federation of Political Parties] which aims were to demand the establishment of a true Parliament for Indonesia (not Volksraad -- People's Council -- which was based on Colonialism), particularly facing the tense International situation and the impending World War II. In order to maintain party discipline and

avoid dualism in the organization (which was caused by the extreme political position taken by some of the leaders of the Party), the Central Committee of P.S.I.I. cut off the relationship of the party organization from the group of Mr. S.M. Kartosuwirjo and Hamran. This resulted in some confusion and in the formation of K.P.K. PSII (Committee for the Defense of Truth PSII) which was under direct leadership of the two gentlemen (and which remained frozen for lack of consistent supporters).

46. M.T. - XXI in Palembang. The 25th PSII Congress (it should be the XXI-st) was held in Palembang. This Congress resolved: to increase and solidify the efforts for gaining a Parliament for Indonesia to which the Government was to be responsible. It also resolved the Tatawu Fast of 18 February 1940, i.e. the Asjura Fast, on 10 Muharram [first month of Moslem year], with a prayer that Allah would grant us a free Indonesia as soon as possible (Independent Indonesia!).

47. An economic plan, based on the work program of PSII, started to be realized by the establishment of Chazanatu'Lah [Arabic: literally meaning Fund of Allah] in the branches of the Party and of Bank Darul Ma'rif [Arabic: Darul = Place of Abode; Ma'rif - meaning not known].

The line of struggle of the Party remained the same: combat usury and exploitation (fruits of Capitalism - Impe-

rialism).

Year 1941. M.T. - XXII in Garut.

48. The 26th PSII Congress (it should have been the XXII-nd) was held in Garut and resolved among others: to give full power to the Central Committee of PSII to act at any time at their own discretion because of the expanding World War and because no one could foresee what was going to happen in those critical days.

49. On 14 December 1941, GAPI issued a statement in which they expressed their "loyalty" and willingness to cooperate with the Netherlands-Indies Government and in which they recommended that the People should stand on the side of the Government if the War reached Indonesia.

Because of this statement, PSII was of the opinion that GAPI deviated from its original line of policy. And in accordance with its Hidjrah policy, P.S.I.I. withdrew from GAPI for reasons of principle which had to be maintained.

Year 1942.

50. On 8 March 1942, the Netherlands-Indies Government fell and Japan occupied Indonesia. Japan dissolved all political parties and prohibited all political activities.

Based on the Constitution of the Party, Article 14, 1.

a. that PSII shall not be dissolved or shall not dissolve.

b. if it faces obstacles, it should return to the

Command of Allah in Al Qur'an, Surah At-Taghbun, ver 16 [from Surah or Chapter entitled At-Taghbun (Arabi meaning Mutual Disillusion or Mutual Deceit which is taken from a word from verse 9 of said Surah], which states: Fattaqulleha Mastata'Tum (Fear Allah with all your might),

in April 1942, then, the Executive Board of PSII issued instructions to temporarily cease all organizational activities. In the meantime, the PSII members were given the opportunity to work in whatever field they chose.

From 1942 until 1946 (until after the Proclamation of Indonesian Independence).

.....empty.....with no activity in our movement. In a secret meeting under the leadership of Engineer Sukarno, Abikusno Tjokrosujoso, President of the PSII Central Committee, pioneered the drafting of the Basis and Aims of the Proclamation and of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia of 17 August 1945 (Djakarta Charter 22 June 1945).
Year 1946.

51. The branches of PSII in Celebes and Sumatra urgently proposed that PSII be organizationally reactivated. Because the President of the Central Committee of PSII, Mr. Abikusno Tjokrosujoso (from 1946 until 1948) was in custody (by the Sjahrir Cabinet), an Emergency Executive Board of

PSII was formed under the leadership of Mr. W.Wondoami-

seno.

Year 1948.

52. The Executive Board of PSII was returned to its 1942 status (President of the Central Committee was Abikusno Tjokroaminoto while the President of the Party Council was W. Wondoamiseno). PSII opposed the Linggardjati and Renville [agreements].

53. The idea for a People's Congress conceived by PSII. In connection with the Indonesian-Dutch discussions (Hatta-Stikker), the Executive Board of P.S.I.I. issued a statement in which among others was stressed that "it is an act of treason for those who dilute the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia based on the Proclamation of 17 August 1945".

Together with other parties and political organizations, PSII pioneered in Djokjakarta the Indonesian People's Congress to determine the policy toward the Hatta-Stikker discussions in particular and to mobilize the national potential for the stabilization of the State in general.

Year 1948. The month of December until year 1949.

54. The Dutch occupied Djokjakarta. All members of the Executive Board of PSII were arrested and put in custody by the Dutch. In 1949, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia appointed the President of the Central Committee of

PSII as an Adviser to the Indonesian Delegation to the Indonesia-Holland Round-Table-Conference.

Year 1950. M.T. * XXIII in Djokjakarta.

55. In January 1950, the members of the Executive Committee of PSII (Abikusno, Arudji, Anwar) were held in custody. They were later released after the accusations directed toward them were proven to be incorrect.

In April, 1950, the PSII Congress was held in Djokjakarta and among others resolved:

a. to abandon the Hidjrah and non-cooperative policy, and to continue its struggle as a mass movement and on the basis of legal parliamentary means.

b. to endorse the Round-Table-Conference Agreement as a fait accompli (an already accomplished fact), as an extension of the Rum-van Royen Statement.

c. to continue the activities of the Party in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Proclamation of 17 August 1945, based on the Djakarta Charter of 22 June 1945. (In August 1950, the Natsir Cabinet was formed. PSII participated in the Cabinet and took the seat of Minister of State. On 25 October 1950, the PSII faction in Parliament could give a vote of confidence to the Natsir Cabinet. Minister of State Harsono Tjokroaminoto returned his mandate to Prime Minister Natsir.)

Year 1951.

56. With regard to the conduct of the Conference in The Hague between Indonesia and Holland on the question of West Irian, PSII issued a statement on 2 January 1951:

a. demanding the dissolution of the Round-Table-Conference and Union Agreements between Indonesia and Holland.

b. insisting on the establishment of a strong Government of Indonesia which had the support of the entire People of Indonesia and which was able to fight for the ~~the~~ welfare of the State and Nation, free from the interference of Dutch Imperialism in all fields.

57. With the acceptance by Parliament of the Motion of Hadikusumo which demanded the withdrawal of Government Regulation No. 39 which the Government (Natsir Cabinet) could not execute, PSII in its statement on 27 January 1951 took the following position: "PSII recommends to the President of the Republic of Indonesia to use his prerogative and power to dissolve the Cabinet or Parliament (Constitution Section 51 and Section 84).

58. On 20 March 1951, the Natsir Cabinet fell. At the initiative of PSII, the Consultative Body of Political Parties (B.P.P.) was established on 27 March 1951 to find a basis for cooperation and mutual work program to overcome the Cabinet crisis in anticipation of the formation of

a strong Cabinet which would have the support of the entire national potential.

59. M.T. - XXIV in Solo.

The 28th PSII Congress (should be the XXIV-th) was held in Surakarta [Solo] from 29 April until 5 May 1951. It resolved, among others:

a. To adopt the Joint B.P.P. program as an urgency program of PSII.

b. To adopt an economic program as the basis of the activities of the Party in the field of Economy by establishing Indonesian Cooperatives wherever there were Branches of PSII and to establish a Central Cooperative.

c. To advance "Overall Country Planning" as the development plan for Indonesia (Over-all Development Program).

60. On 5 June 1951, a PSII Statement of World Peace was issued, stressing that:

a. It would be sufficient for PSII, in its efforts to assist in the achievement of World Peace, to follow the perfect and true teachings of Islam;

b. the members of PSII were prohibited to sign the World Peace petition which was distributed by a certain group.

61. The PSII Statement on 2 October 1951 on the Peace Treaty with Japan emphasized that:

a. It did not agree with the action of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia (Sukiman Cabinet) in partici-

pating with the signing of Japanese Peace Treaty in San Francisco..

b. PSII urged the Government conclude a separate Peace Treaty with Japan, based on mutual respect and trust of both parties.

62. With regard to the development of independence in Middle East, the Party took the position:

a. "assist the fight for freedom for the Peoples of Egypt, Marocco and Lybia";

b. "urge the Government to instruct its Representative to the United Nations (U.N.) to work as closely as possible with the Islam and Asian Countries" (PSII Statement of 29 December 1951).

63. In relation to the developments within the Islam Community of Indonesia and to the pressures from various quarters upon it, on 23 July 1951 PSII issued an Urgent Call about the necessity of reviving unity among Islam follower of Indonesia which should be in the form of a Federation.

Year 1952.

64. On 20 February 1952, the Sukiman-Suwirjo Cabinet returned its mandate to the President and on 1 April 1952 the Wilopo Cabinet was formed. PSII took part in it and received the portfolio of Minister of Social Affairs (Anwar Tjokroaminoto).

65. With regard to the idea of a Conference of Prime Ministers of Islam countries as proposed by the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, Zafrrullah Khan, PSII already stated its position and policy in its Statement of 21 April 1952:

(1) The State of Indonesia is a State based on the belief in Allah the Almighty (See the Preamble of the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, paragraph 3 and paragraph 4) and from it, it is clear that Indonesia is a State based on Religious Belief.

(2) Because 95 percent of all the citizens of Indonesia are Islam, it would be reasonable for Indonesia to send her Prime Minister to the Conference of Prime Ministers of Islamic Countries to be held in Karachi.

66. PSII sent its representative, the Secretary of the Central Committee of PSII (Ahmad Masruri) to the World Conference of Islam Followers in Karachi (Pakistan) which was held from 10 until 17 May 1952, and which resolved in the establishment of "Munazzamatusj Sju'oubil Islamijjah" (Moslem Peoples Organization).

67. At the initiative of PSII and with the cooperation of the Executive Board of Nahdlatul Ulama [Moslem Scholars Party], the Supreme Council of the Islam Party PERTI [Expansion of Islam Union Party] and the Executive Board of PSII, on 29 Dzul Hidjah [12th month of the Moslem year] 1371 which fell on 30 August 1952, the Islam Federation of Indon

sia (Moslem League of Indonesia) was officially established at the Parliament's Building in Djakarta and was well received by the People.

Year 1953. M.T. - XXV in Djakarta.

68. The Congress of the Party, Madjalis Taklim - XXIX (should be XXV) was held in Djakarta from 20 until 27 March 1953. One of the resolutions passed was: PSII's policy that "the basis of the State shall be Al Qur'an and the teachings of the Prophet" be adopted as the program in facing the General Elections for the Constituent Assembly. Said resolution of the XXIX-th Congress received wide support from the People, particularly from the Moslems. And in the Conference of Islam Teachers and Followers of Indonesia which took place in Medan from 11 until 15 April 1953 to discuss the teachings of Islam, it was apparent that the principle of the State to follow the Koran and the teachings of the Prophet received considerable attention.

69. On 6 September 1953, a Coup d'Etat (wrestling of power) took place within the Executive Board of PSII, carried out by a clique of anti-S.I. elements which was led by Anwar Tjokroaminoto and Arudji Kartawinata. Abikusno Tjokrosujoso (President of the Central Committee) and Ahmad Masruri (First Secretary of the Central Committee of PSII) was illegally suspended. In suspending them, the name of Sudibyo was mentioned only to confuse the PSII circles.

Year 1954.

70. Abikusno/Masruri remained calm, allowing fair play to take its course and giving Anwar/Arudji the fullest opportunity to prove their ability and their capability to lead P.S.I.I., while waiting for the coming Congress of the Party.

Year 1955. M.T. - XXVI in Solo.

71. In April 1955, the Congress of the Party, Madjelia Tahkim S.I. - XXX (should be the XXVI-th) was held in Solo (in Central Java). The first resolution called for the appearance of Abikusno Tjokrosujoso before the Congress. A Committee of 11 persons established by the M.T. - XXX resolved, after studying the problems thoroughly, in a meeting on 7 April 1955:

(1) to withdraw the decision of the Executive Board No. 1 dated 6 September 1953 regarding the suspension of Abikusno and Masruri.

(2) to restore said persons to their positions in the Party S.I.

While said resolution was adopted, the meetings of the Congress was intentionally continued to form the new Executive Board of the Party (which was inconsistent with the resolution), consisting of dangerous elements. A Brochure written by Abikusno entitled "Before the XXX-th Congress in Solo" was willy-nilly confiscated by the clique of the /Executive Board of the

PSII Central Committee Anwar/Arudji.

72. There was confusion abound. The PSII world demanded that a Special Congress be held soon.

Year 1956. M.T. - XXVII in Surabaya.

73. The Congress of the Party, the Special Madjelis T kiz, was held in Surabaya from 29 July until 3 August 1956. The spirit of the meetings was bitter and the conduct of the Executive Board of the Central Committee was rejected.

The important resolutions were:

a. To accept the resignation of the Executive Board of the Central Committee as a result of the rejection of its political-administrative-organizational policies by the Congress.

b. To call on Abikusno to act as formateur (not as one of the formateurs) to form the Executive Board.

Anwar/Arudji, two former members of the Executive Board whose policies were rejected by the Congress in its entirety without shame offered themselves to become members of the Committee of Formateurs.

Based on a long distance telephone call and on a letter from the Congress -- that the Special Congress called upon Abikusno to act as formateur (not as one of the formateurs) -- Abikusno on 2 August 1956 submitted a brief explanation in his speech before the Congress, saying in parts:

a. The Party must continue to move forward, even a-

cross oceans, to find sources for a better life for the People. For such a task, unity in the Party's leadership is necessary.

b. During the time he was suspended, he did not obstruct the actions of the Executive Board of the Party (the clique of Anwar/Arudji). He expected fair play and the broadest opportunity for the formation of a strong, solid and confident Team as the Executive Board.

c. He suggested that every local Committee appointed their respective representatives to work with the above gentlemen to form a Team for the Executive Board and to have it completed so that it could do its job satisfactorily.

Anwar Tjokroaminoto who should not have had the right anymore to chair the meeting, continued at that time to lead as Chairman of the Congress meetings. He used this opportunity maliciously by declaring that Abikusno rejected the decision of the Congress. Therefore, the resolution appointing Abikusno as formateur was not valid. The meeting became tense at which time Anwar fainted.

74. After the Congress, confusion in the branches of the Party increased. And all the locals in South Sumatra resolved to issue a PSII South Sumatra Statement on 25 September 1956, as follows:

a. The PSII Executive Board under the leadership of Anwar/Arudji deviated from the true aims and purpose of PSII.

b. The group of Anwar-Arudji proved to be unable to implement the ideas of the Constitution based on the Koran and on the Teachings of the Prophet (Resolution of M.T. - XXI in Djakarta).

c. The efforts of the Anwar-Arudji Group during the Special Congress in Surabaya clearly resulted in the friction and doubts within the ranks of PSII and followed by acts on the part of the Executive Board (Anwar-Arudji) to expel followers of Abikusno.

d. P.S.I.I. - South Sumatra was convinced that, in order to restore the unity and strength of PSII in particular and the potential of Followers of Islam in general for the purpose of achieving the aims of Islam to enforce the Law of Islam as widely and as completely as possible, for the purpose also to achieve a true Islam world and sincerely a true Moslem life, only P.S.I.I. under the leadership of Abikusno could achieve it.

Based on the above consideration, PSII-South Sumatra not less than which included/180 branches and future branches, resolved:

(1) To leave PSII which was under the leadership of the group of Arudji-Anwar.

(2) To establish P.S.I.I. - Abikusno, with a temporary slate for the Executive Board as follows:

President Central Committee PSII -- Abikusno Tjokrosujoso.

Vice-President I -- A.S. Mattjik

Vice-President IX -- M. Hassan Manaf

Secretary General Central Committee PSII:

H. Ahmad Masruri

Secretary I / -- Idris Baksin

Secretary II -- J. Usman Sani.

75. On 28 September 1956, a delegation of the South Sumatra PSII, on behalf of PSII-Abikusno, met with Abikusno in Djakarta. The Executive Board of PSII-Abikusno was formed with H. Ahmad Masruri as Acting President and A.S. Mattjik as Acting Secretary General. The first task of the Executive Board of PSII-Abikusno was to submit a letter of Abikusno Referendum, dated 28 September 1956, in which the Locals were requested to conduct local meetings as soon as possible to discuss the important current problems and to offer their opinion and position to the Executive Board:

a. regarding the position of Abikusno as expounded before the Special Congress in Surabaya on 2 August 1956 (enclosed with the referendum).

b. regarding the Statement of PSII-South Sumatra dated 25 September 1956 (mentioned above).

76. From 5 until 6 November 1956, the First Plenary Conference of the Executive Board of PSII-Abikusno was

held in Palembang, during which time Abikusno submitted his important message which said in parts:

a. only one month after the Referendum, letters, telegrams and resolutions from branches of the Party all over Indonesia flooded the Office of the Executive Board of PSII-Abikusno in Djakarta, expressing full support for PSII-Abikusno.

b. The month of December was considered the deadline for the Referendum, with the understanding that the Branches of the Party had sufficient opportunity to go through the problems soberly and thoroughly.

The first plenary conference of the Executive Board of PSII-Abikusno also adopted an important resolution as the line of action for the Party, e.g. with regard to the Crisis of the Democracy in the country, regarding the question of West Irian, on the Crisis in the Middle East, Hungary and Algeria, regarding the Joint Statement of Indonesia and the U.S.S.R. and the endorsement of a Minimum Program in the platform for cooperation among Islam Parties in their struggle to maintain the Constitution of the State, of which the principles were to be as follows:

(1) The Supreme Law within the State of the Republic of Indonesia to be: The Holy Koran and the Teachings of the Prophet.

(2) All Laws and Regulations of the State, the Centre as well as the Area government, not to be contrary to the contents of said Supreme Law.

(3) The responsibility to follow the Holy Teachings of Islam for all Moslems of Indonesia.

77. On 25 December 1956, the II-nd Plenary Conference of the Executive Board of PSII-Abikusno was held in Palembang. The important resolutions which were adopted were:

a. To form the Executive Council and the Central Committee of the Party with the Departmental Councils, and to give full power to the Executive Board in executing its task for the good of the Party and in facing every urgent situation within the country as well as outside the country. (In that Conference Abikusno returned in his active capacity in the Board of the Party).

b. To withdraw their confidence in Anwar Tjokroaminoto, Muhammad Sjafel and M. Tahir Abubakar and not recognize them as representatives of the South Sumatra PSII in the Constituent Assembly.

c. Based on the consideration that the unity of the State of the Republic of Indonesia was to receive the supreme attention of the People and that the conflicts of power in Central and North Sumatra showed the break in the unity of the State, the Conference therefore resolved:

* to request the President of the Republic of Indonesia to submit his Conception to a consultative meeting of the leaders of the Society who were responsible for the security and welfare of the People and of the State of the Republic of Indonesia.

* to urge the Government (Ali-Roem-Icham Cabinet) to be truly conscious of the situation and to show its sincere desire to participate in bringing about a new Government which had the real confidence of all layers of society.

* to urgently request the Political Parties to sincerely work toward clearing the tense and confused atmosphere which was dangerous for the welfare and security of the People and of the Republic of Indonesia.

Year 1957.

78. On 14 March 1957, the entire country was declared in a State of War Emergency. The Central Committee of PS issued a Political Statement dated 14 March 1956 [sic], emphasizing:

a. the need for a Cabinet and Government Regulation which would truly open possibilities for active participation of all layers of society in guiding the destiny of the Nation.

b. the need for establishing a Cabinet of Experts

which would have real enough support in and outside Parliament and with a clear work program for the moral and material development of the entire People.

Important activities:

a. On 26 May 1957, the Headquarters of S.I.A.P. (Sjarikat Islam Boy Scouts), a substructure of PSII-Abikusno, was established in Djakarta under the leadership of Mr. Abdul'Muis Thaha as High Commissioner of the S.I.A.P. Headquarters and with a Staff composed of Mohammad Ichwan Afandi, Miss Martini L. Tobing, Miss 'Aqielah Noor, J. Sofjan and Dr. J.F. Nainggolan.

b. The Branches of the Party were instructed to celebrate the birthday of the Father of the S.I. Party, the^{late} H.O.S. Tjokroaminoto, on 16 August, 1888, each year with proper festivities.

c. On 22 September 1957, the Supreme Council of P.M.I. (Moslem Youth of Indonesia), substructure of PSII-Abikusno, was established in Djokjakarta under the leadership of Mr. A. Barmawi Umari, assisted by a Staff composed of R. Muhammad I.K., Sjamsu Ridjal, R.G. Ahmad Zunairi, Ibrahim Bandung, Buwaithi, A. Zainal, Djaubari, Zarkasji, Mohd. Amir Thaha and A. Gaffur Umar.

d. On 25 September 1957, a Proposal for improving the Constitution and By-Laws of PSII was submitted to the

Branches of the Party for study and consideration,
and was favorably received.

e. On 15 November 1957, a campaign was started for the Djakarta Charter of 22 June 1945 as a minimum requirement for the draft of the Country's Constitution being molded in the Constituent Assembly and on 16 November 1957, Urgent Instruction - I regarding the Constitution issued through the Branches of the Party was warmly received by the great masses of People.

Year 1958.

79. On 25 May 1958, the Executive Board of S.M.M.I. (Moslem Students Union of Indonesia), substructure of PSII-Abikusno was installed in Djokjakarta under the leadership of Jusuf Rachim and Djama'an Noer with the assistance of a Staff composed of Nurdin Amin, Achmad Basri, Mahmood Junus, and others.

80. On 10 September 1958, concurrently with the anniversary of the birth of S.I. on 10 September 1912, Urgent Instruction - II regarding the Constitution of the Country was issued. The Branches were even more active in urging the masses and the Religious Teachers to be vigilant of possible deviations in the great struggle -- the efforts to draft the Constitution being exerted in the Constituent Assembly convened in Bandung.

81. On 1 November 1958, a Resolution of the Central Committee of PSII regarding the work program of the Party in the provincial Representative Assemblies, Autonomous Area Level I and Level II, was issued.

82. On 29 December 1958, the Executive Board of I.P. M.I. (Association of Indonesian Moslem Students), substructure of PSII-Abikusno, was installed in Bandung under the leadership of Mr. Otom Kastomi, assisted by a Staff composed of Zainal Abidin Hs, T. Dimiyati, E. Saifulah Wr., R. Effendy, E. Tedjasukmana and Miss Iromah Idris and others.

Year 1959.

83. On 9 February 1959, a Resolution of the Central Committee of PSII No. 002/D/1959 was adopted concerning the Strengthening of the Character of the Party, in which was emphasized the determination to elevate the principles of the Oath of Badr [from the Koran, Surah XLVIII entitled Al-Fath (Victory)], and to hold the moral spirit of S.I. as a basis for the life and struggle of the PSII world.

84. On 5 April 1959, a Resolution of the Central Committee of PSII No. 003/D/1959 regarding requirements of membership in the executive boards in the National as well as local organizations, as a basis for vigilance in maintain-

ing the potential of the Party in all respects.

85. On 11 April 1959, in anticipation of the return to the Constitution of 1945, a brochure was issued of which the essence was: People's moral armament. (Prayer: Baldatan Tojjibatun Wa Rabbun Ghafoer) [Arabic, possibly meaning "with justice, prosperity and peace"]⁷.

86. On 5 July 1959, the Decree of the President/Commander-in-Chief of the Republic of Indonesia was issued, declaring the Constitution of 1945 to be enforced throughout the country, based upon the conviction that the Djakarta Charter of 22 June 1945 "embodies the 1945 Constitution and represents the framework of unity with the 1945 Constitution".

Djakarta Charter

That freedom is deemed the right of all men and that therefore oppression on this earth shall be abolished because it is not in concord with human dignity and justice.

And the fight for the freedom of Indonesia has arrived at the moment of success in good fortune, bringing the People of Indonesia before the gates of the State of Indonesia, independent, united, sovereign, just and with prosperity.

With the blessing and with the charity of Allah the Almighty, and driven by a sacred desire to achieve a free

national life, the People of Indonesia hereby declare their independence.

And in order to form a Government of the State of Indonesia which renders shelter to all the People of Indonesia and to the entire territory of Indonesia, and in order to promote the general welfare, to develop the life of the Nation and to participate in the endeavour to achieve a world order based on freedom, eternal peace and social justice, the National Independence of Indonesia shall be founded on a Basic Law of the State of Indonesia which shall be established as a Republic of Indonesia in which the People shall be sovereign, based upon:

The Belief in God, with the responsibility of abiding by the Holy Laws of Islam for those who follow Islam, in accordance with human justice and dignity, a united and democratic Indonesia which guided by the wisdom of representative consultation, and realizing social justice for all People of Indonesia.

Djakarta, 22 June 1945.

Ir. Soekarno	Abikusno Tjokrosujoso	H. A. Salim
Drs. Mohammad Hatta	Abdulkahar Muzakir	Mr. Achmad Subardjo
Mr. A. A. Maramis	Mr. Muhammad Yamin	
Wahid Hasjim.		

Year 1960.

87. From 15 until 18 February 1960, the III-rd Plenary Conference of the Executive Board of PSII was held in Djakarta with success. It was attended by all the members of the Executive Board of PSII and by representatives of the branches of S.I. Party from South Sumatra, West Java, Central Java, East Java and North Celebes totalling no less than 250 people.

The important resolutions were:

(1) Endorsed the policies of the Executive Board from 1956 until 1960 in following the Order for Extensive Correction toward Reactionary Anti-S.I. elements (South Sumatra PSII Statement of 25 September 1956) and approved it in its entirety.

(2) The Conference accepted the recommendations advanced by Prof. M. Hasby Ash-Shiddieqy, Professor of the University of S.I. (Islam Religion Academy in Solo), regarding the technique of implementing the aims of National Moslem Education.

(3) Gave full power to the Executive Board of PSII in facing several problems, among others in connection with Government Regulation No. 7/1959.

(4) Established the line of action in strengthening the true S.I. character. (See attached appendix).

88. On 5 May 1960 (after it [The Democratic League] was rejected by the Moslem League), S.I. Party took the following opportunity: Support the Democratic League which at that time was already formed from the ranks of N.U. [Nahdatul Ulama -- Moslem Scholars Party], Catholic Party, IP-KI [Association of Supporters of Indonesian Independence], People's Party of Indonesia, Labor Party, Masjumi [Moslem Party], Indonesian Socialist Party, Anshor Youth Movement and others, opposing the formation of the Mutual Cooperation Parliament.

In its statement, PSII emphasized the need to determine the position and line of action of the Democratic League as soon as possible, which would be more positive than merely facing problems which were incidental in nature.

89. On 22 June 1960, positive steps were taken to form P.P.K.M. (United Moslem Movement) within the framework of the efforts to realize the principles stipulated in the Djakarta Charter of 22 June 1945 which, with the Decree of the President/Commander-in-Chief of 5 July 1959, was officially endorsed as the embodiment^{of} and as the reflection of oneness with the 1945 Constitution.

90. In view of the issuance of Government Regulation No. 13/1960 for the implementation of Government Regulation

No. 7/1959 regarding the requirements and simplification of the Indonesian political party system, in which it was stated that Parties which would be recognized by the Government as political parties were parties which would meet the following requirements:

already
(1) Which/existed on the day of the issuance of the Presidential Decree on 5 July 1959.

(2) which accepts and defends the Aims and Purpose of the Republic of Indonesia based on the 1945 Constitution.

(3) Whose Constitution clearly states that the Party accepts and defends the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which is embodied in the Djakarta Charter of 22 June 1945, and whose Work Program is based on the Political Manifesto of 17 August 1959 (Policy of the State).

(4) Whose branches are spread over not less than one-quarter of the number of Autonomous Area Level I, and whose branches shall number not less than the total number of Autonomous Area Level II of all of Indonesia.

(5) Which shall not have members of foreign nationality.

(6) Which, without Government approval, shall not receive assistance from foreign sources.

(7) Whose members are not less than 18 years of age.

(8) Which shall give the President of the Republic of

Indonesia the right to oversee and investigate the organization, finances and wealth of the Party.

(9) which the President can dissolve if it does not meet the set requirements.

(10) Which has a membership of not less than 150,000 persons.

(11) Whose branches have not less than 50 members each then, therefore, the S.I. Party issued its instructions contained in Notice Centr. Comm. PSII No. 19/D/1960 dated 14 July 1960, page 10, to all the Locals and Central Committees of the Locals to:

(1) Organize and look into the administration of the Party, improve the organization of the Party and strengthen the relationship among the members of the Party.

The above are to be executed correctly, in an orderly fashion and sincerely by all local S.I.

(2) Draft an affidavit showing that the Local PSII of your area has a registered membership of not less than 50 persons, the signing of such affidavit to be witnessed by the local authority (Head of Village/Head of Area, etc. For the above purpose, use Form Centr. Comm. PSII No. 007/1960, attached.

(3) Execute the above immediately and dispatch by express mail [Special Delivery] to the Central Committee PSII

(Kalibaru II/5 Djakarta) to be immediately submitted to
Pepertri (Supreme War Administration) in Djakarta.

Attention! To the official affidavit must be attached
the membership list. For the Locals which have not received
Serial
Central Committee/Numbers for their members, they will be
given the Central Committee Registered Numbers.

(4) The Substructures of the Indonesian Islam Union
Party, i.e.

Central Board of S.M.M.I. (Moslem Students Union),
Executive Board of P.M.I. (Moslem Youth of Indonesia), the
Djokjakarta Executive Board of I.P.M.I. (Association of
Indonesian Moslem Students), and the Bandung Headquarters
of S.I.P.A. (Sjarikat Islam Boy Scouts),

are instructed to complete their reports for the pe-
riod 1959-1960 and submit them to the Youth Movement De-
partment c/o Central Committee PSII (Kalibaru Timur II/5
Djakarta).

END

Appendix no. 1 -- mentioned in Paragraph 87.

Rehabilitation and Maintenance
of the True Characteristic of

/ Sjarikat Islam

Bismillahi'rrahmani'rrahim [Arabic: In the Name of
Allah, the God of Mercy, the Merciful].

I. Aims of the Party's Movement.

There is no longer any doubt that since the birth of
the Party on 10 September 1912, the true aims of the
struggle of Sjarikat Islam Party has been to be loyal to
the Bai'at [Arabic: Oath] (to be read audibly and briefly

To follow Islam fully and extensively so that we
shall achieve a true Islam World and so that we
shall live a true Moslem Life.

Note: The aims of S.I. Party became more definite and its
course more definitive after the Djakarta Charter of
22 June 1945 has been fully recognized in the Presi-
dential Decree of 5 June 1959 as embodying the 1945
Constitution within the framework of a unifying
structure.

II. Requirements to achieve Aims of Party.

In order that Islam can be practiced fully and exten-
sively, as stipulated in the purpose of S.I. Party, certa

requirements have been set which have to be met. These requirements are:

(1) Unity of Followers of Islam.

Article 2 of the Constitution of PSII clearly stipulates that S.I. Party endeavours:

a. to achieve closely-knit unity among the Followers of Islam, guided by the Word of Allah and the Teachings of the Prophet in all respects of life, livelihood, social life and the like.

b. to achieve and maintain good relations of the Followers of Islam and other national groups and other groups of the population of Indonesia, and to introduce the efforts to or unify the efforts with those of the other groups, based on the merits of each effort -- unity for mutual or general benefit.

Such unity (to be in accordance with rules which meet the Word of Allah, etc.) or such association of the People is what has been established by PSII with full reliance upon the Oath. Any deviation from the line established in the above cannot be justified.

(2) National Freedom.

In order to achieve the honorable aims, i.e. achieve a life of moral and physical tranquility, become a Nation with a Government of its own, and gain Human dignity,

PSII must pioneer the Followers of Islam together with the masses of Indonesia in maintaining National Freedom and Sovereignty over our Country.

(3) The State and Government of Indonesia must be Democratic in character.

S.I. Party, which sincerely holds itself on the Bai'at, is convinced that life of moral and physical tranquility and National Freedom with a Government of its own in order to gain Human dignity, can best be achieved only if the State and the Government of Indonesia are democratic in character, such as by affording them the guidance of the Koran, Verse 38, Surah Asj-Sjura [Arabic: Asj-Sjura = Counsel] (and the Government to be established upon Counsel of themselves). [Verse 28, Surah Asj-Sjura: "And those who answer the call of their Lord, and observe prayer, and whose affairs are guided by mutual Counsel, and who give alms of that with which we have enriched them";].

(4) The National economic life must be based on cooperative method.

Party S.I., which truly holds itself on the Oath, fully realizes that poverty, bondage and ignorance which thus far dominate the largest part of humanity have been caused by the appetite of capitalism, human appetite and desire to accumulate material wealth for ones own

benefit and joy.

Indonesia, after having been a victim of insatiable greed for 350 years, of the Dutch rule, and after having lived for 14 years in freedom, shall remain in poverty, bondage and ignorance if it is not able to cast off the system of life which has the capitalistic and materialistic characteristics. For that reason, Party S.I. determined a line of action to abolish capitalism in and outside the country and establish a cooperative national life of which the nature and characteristics are such as shown by the deeds of the people of Ansaar [natives of Yathrib] towards the Muhadjirins ["immigrants" from Mecca] at Madinah.

(5) Equality Human status in social life and under the Law of the State.

Party S.I., which truly upholds the Bai'at [Oath], is of the opinion that the confusion in the life of the masses which has caused complex problems such as labor problem, unemployment, problems with regard to the position of the women, agricultural problem, industrial and small business problems and the like, has been the result of the human flight from the Law of Allah, embodied in Islam, which in essence determines Its Teachings to find a solution for those problems.

So long as the Law of Allah, so long as spiritual concepts and justice are not implanted in the life of the People and do not grow in the hearts of the Followers of Islam, so long shall improper actions, conducts and influences prevail over the economic life of men.

For that reason Party S.I., which upholds the Oath truly, is exerting all its efforts men's welfare and prosperity, which are based on the Law of Allah the Almighty, which elevate reason, so that the abundant National wealth can be used to improve the social life of the Nation and not to drag it further into the ravine of impurity. For that purpose, the Party endeavours to make life's relationship truly conscious of being in one life organic being, composed of members who are related to one another in spirit and in mind. For that reason, then, life's association which must be political in nature, in the opinion of the Party, must of necessity be based upon equality and shall only give highest recognition to those who really obey God and who are loyal only to God, i.e. those who are most able to work and to lead, and those who serve society in wisdom because of the Belief in Allah, be it man or woman, be it in society or in ones house-hold.

6. True Freedom, Freedom with the principles of Islam.

The elements of Socialism which is now strongly ad-

vanced by the experts of the World are: Freedom, Brotherhood and Social Equality.

For fourteen centuries, since its birth, Islam has taught those true principles of Socialism. The holy Law of Islam, the guidance of Allah in the Koran and the Teachings of the Prophet, all of it not only embody socialism, but if pursued consistently and correctly it will bring all People true freedom, i.e. Independence which free the People from every form of bondage, spiritually and physically.

III The Oath of the Party.

By understanding the basic aims and the line of action of Sjarikat Islam Party, so that those basic aims can be followed up with real efforts, it is the duty of every member of Party. S.I. to take the Oath of the Party of which the outline is placed on the II-nd Sjahadat, i.e. "There is no other God but Allah and Mohammad is the Messenger of Allah", with swearing loyalty to the Word of Allah that:

(1) one enters Sjarikat Islam Party wholeheartedly, not to gain personal benefits, not with any other design but to uphold Islam -- to remain loyal and consciously follow the Command of Allah and the Teachings of the Prophet and to shy away from the forbidden.

(2) one shall exert all one efforts to achieve the aims and purpose of Sjarikat Islam Party.

(3) one shall obey the stipulations of the Constitution and the resolutions of the Madjelis Tanhkim (Congress) of the Party which are not contrary to the Supreme Law of the Party (the Koran and the true Teachings of the Prophet).

(4) one shall not damage the name of the Party or subvert the Party and shall defend the Party against any danger from what quarter so ever.

With the above oath of loyalty, the Party wishes every one of its member to be its living implement organize, analyze himself, so that each action and conduct shall be in concord with the line of action of the Sjarikat Islam Party.

IV. Knowing the Oath of the Party.

On 15 September 1959, the Executive Board of the Central Committee of PSII, after observing the development of the organization of PSII during the three years after the Great Corrective Action of 25 September 1956, has recorded its opinion and findings of what has caused the deviation in the Party, i.e.

(1) Lack of understanding and realization among the members of the Party S.I. regarding their responsibilities

as a consequence of the Sacred Oath which in the Name of Allah is applied as a loyalty oath for the membership of the Sjarikat Islam Party.

(2) "Negligent" attitude toward their duties and toward their task in the Party and taking their responsibilities toward Allah in relationship to the Party's Oath too lightly.

The general explanation regarding the Party's Oath which was formulated in the Resolution of the Central Committee of PSII No. 004/D/1959 on 15 September 1959, follows:

(a) The Party's Oath taken by the membership of the Sjarikat Islam Party is not the ordinary oath which could be redeemed at any time by peace-offering.

(b) The Party's Oath, of which the outline is contained in the Koran, Surah Al-Fatah [Victory], Verse 10, as rendered by the Prophet during the historic war of Badr, in which in facing survival or complete annihilation of Islam the Faithful were ordered to take the Oath (Oath of loyalty to the Prophet which is known as the Bai'at Badr), carries a significant meaning.

(1) He who fulfills the basic principles of the Oath shall be rewarded on this Earth and in the Hereafter, determined by Allah Himself.

(2) He who without intention commits any violation of the Oath and who, after investigation received the punishment determined by the Party, is willing to return to the Party, is considered to have redeemed himself with Kifarat [expiatory sacrifice]; he is not to face Allah's punishment in the Hereafter because of his violation.

(3) He who violates the Oath and hides it from the Party and/or the Party is not aware of it, shall be receive punishment determined by Allah: If Allah wishes to forgive or if Allah wishes punishment to fall upon him (on this Earth or in the Hereafter).

(Hadits Buchari Riwayat 'Ubadah Ibn Saamit) [Arabic: meaning not known]

V. Maintaining the Oath.

Thus far there are still members of the Sjerikat Islam Party who consider the question of Worship, Prayer, Alms, Fasting during the month of Ramadhan [ninth month of Moslem year], Pilgrimage to Mecca and enouncing the II-nd Sjahadat/^{to be} only individual responsibilities and that the Party has no right to see to it that those responsibilities are being executed. Such an opinion is not correct. The first point in the Oath of the Party clearly emphasizes: to remain loyal and consciously follow the Command of Allah and the Teachings of the Prophet and to shy away from the

forbidden. In the Word of Allah and in the Teachings of the Prophet it is significantly clear: the responsibilities for the principles of Worship.

The Oath, like a plant, has to be maintained diligently and to be cultivated with the "water of Worship continuously, so that it will bloom with religious charity and with the Blessing of Allah, for the benefit of the Nation and of the State. It is for that reason that the Resolution of the Central Committee of PSII No. 004/D/1959 dated 15 September 1959, instructed all Branches and Locals to attend to above principles and not accept the Oath of any one person but of member-candidates who really understand the basic principles of the Sjarikat Islam Party movement and who are convinced of the truth in the Aims and Purpose of the Party, and who loyally implement the policies of the Sjarikat Islam Party as best as they can.

In reading the history of the struggle of the Sjarikat Islam Party, we can see that, even without be conscious of the persistency in the struggle and of the willingness to sacrifice for the Party based on loyalty to the aims of the struggle, the PSII world gradually forms a certain character, maintains the character, the high character of Sjarikat Islam.

It brings about a high tradition with great influence in the national political discourse. It often times brings its effects on the international scene which could not be ignored.

VI. Protect the purity of the S.I. Character.

Every deviation is preceded by acts of disparaging the meaning of the high character of the Party. Therefore, in order to maintain the Character of Sjarikat Islam Party and in order that no other deviations shall be repeated or that possible deviations can best be controlled, the Resolution of the Central Committee of PSII No. 002/D/1958 dated 9 February 1959 clearly contained instructions regarding this important matter.

(1) Each member of the Sjarikat Islam Party (who has already taken the Oath of the Party and the member-candidates who are preparing themselves to take the Oath) is dutybound to uphold the contents of the Bai'at Badr (the oath of the Faithful before the Prophet before the historic Battle of Badr), as follows:

(a) Not to compromise the Power of Allah with anything whatsoever.

(b) Not to commit theft in whatever form.

(c) Not to commit adultery.

(d) Not to kill ones children (followers) as one

pleases.

(e) Not to bear false witness (defame) to destroy ones (political) friends.

(f) Not to refuse to repay for a good deed, in whatever form.

(2) In the daily life, each member and member-candidate is duty-bound to uphold the Character of the Sjarikat Islam Party.

(a) To love the Party as one loves one-self and ones own family. To maintain the efficiency of the work of the S.I. Party with diligence and persistence as maintaining ones own body and property.

(b) To refrain from boasting and from acts of superiority in ones daily life in the Party. To be prepared to receive criticism (from whomsoever) with an open mind and a peaceful heart. To offer criticism (to whatsoever and whomsoever) in a proper manner and with a purpose "to develop the S.I. Party" wholeheartedly. To render replies regarding questions relating to the Party, wisely and soberly.

(c) Not to be inebriated by past victories and not to despair in facing failure in ones efforts. To be diligent and vigilant in facing political opponents within and outside the Party, and to be ever prudent in facing any si-

tuation.

(d) Towards ones Moslem equal to act as spiritual brother and with humility. Toward other nationals and others living in Indonesia, to act nobly, correctly and justly. Towards Anti-S.I. reactionaries (within the Party and outside of it) who shows signs of animosity with regard to the Party by conducts detrimental to the Party, to be ever "Asjidda'ala'l Kufar" [Arabic: meaning not known] and to be ever clearly positive. In internal Party questions, each member must act with candor. In facing the leadership of the Party, one must be truthful and not hide any errors or mistakes, so that mistakes and problem can be solved immediately and properly.

(3) For the inner strength of S.I. potential and to establish unity of the Followers of Islam for the benefit and security of the Nation and for the Country, each member and member-candidate must follow the discipline of Islam of the Party and the National discipline:

(a) to foster religious consciousness by persistently fulfilling the requirements of Worship (Prayer, Charity, Fasting during Ramadhan, etc.) and by expanding ones knowledge of the Koran and the Teachings of the Prophet as the Supreme Rule in the purpose of the Party.

(b) to be disciplined; to be active in advancing

S.I. Party; execute consciously and conscientiously all instructions of the Party and reject with all ones power all elements within the Party and outside the Party which are endangering the interest of the S.I. Party and the welfare of the People.

(c) to work for the good and security of Society. To foster strong and good relations in the masses and in the Party which is truly upholding the Oath of the Party. To really understand the will and the need of the People, by studying the problems of the great masses to assist in finding a solution for those problems. To fight for the general welfare and to give the political opinions of S.I. to the great masses.

(d) to be disciplinarian to the People's movement and to render good leadership to the Moslem to be loyal to the high aims of Sjarikat Islam. To know thoroughly ones own duties and responsibilities and to be an example in every endeavour to achieve the aspirations of the struggle of the People of Indonesia who for a large part are followers of Islam.

VII. Verification of Leadership.

To continuously maintain the purity of the Aims of the Party, and to persistently maintain the unity of the Party organization, so that the development of the Party shall

be in concord with the original purpose of the Party, embodied by the spirit and established by the character of S.I., the Leadership of the Party represents a very important factor which cannot be ignored. And in order that the true character of S.I. which has already grown in the hearts of every member can have Party leadership in the national and local levels, the leadership of the Party must be composed of chosen people who are loyal to the Aims and Purpose of the Party and who uphold the political tradition of S.I. in accordance with the true Aims and Purpose of S.I.

VIII. Requirements for the Members of the Party Leadership.

The Resolution of the Central Committee of PSII No. 003/D/1959 dated 5 April 1959 stressed that the requirements for membership in the Party leadership are meant to guarantee continued and harmonious growth, on national and local level, so that the entire Party shall develop and advance with the desires of the movement, in accordance with the spirit, character and aims of the Sjarikat Islam Party.

Each member of the S.I. Party who is chosen as a candidate for membership of the Party Leadership on national and local level, must meet the following requirements:

(1) Possess a deep knowledge of the Aims and Purpose of the S.I. Party, its Constitution and By-laws; knowledge of the religious history of Islam, the history of our Country and particularly the history of Sjarikat Islam; active in the field of politics.

(2) Possess a thorough knowledge of the Koran and the Teachings of Islam as the source of the Religious Law of Islam, the Supreme Law in the eyes of the Party, and also possess a general knowledge in social field.

(3) Possess good experience in the life of the Party with the following basis:

(a) to be chosen as a candidate for membership in the Executive Board of the Party, one must be endorsed by the Branch which has made the choice, stipulating that the candidate has been active and loyal in the struggle of the S.I. Party for not less than 15 years prior to the time of the candidacy, and that the candidate is known to be of good character, measured by the ^{true} moral and character standards of Sjarikat Islam.

(b) to be a candidate for Area Commissioner, the candidate must be active for not less than 10 years.

(c) to be a candidate for District Officer, not less than 5 years.

(d) To be a candidate for membership of Branch or Lo-

cal Leadership, to be elected by the members with the same requirements as in (a) except that the candidate must have been active for not less than 2 years.

(e) for group leader, not less than 1 year of active membership.

(4) Those who do not yet meet the above requirements are afforded the opportunity to work as a Candidate for Executive Leadership where the ability, loyalty and sincerity can be evaluated by the Executive Board. As a member of the Executive Board, national as well as local, one must be prepared to declare ones loyalty and also that one is prepared to accept the responsibilities and duties of ones office. The declaration above must be wholeheartedly enounced with an oath by the Name of Allah before a meeting of the Board concerned.

(5) As a member or candidate for membership of the Party's leadership, one is prohibited to form a faction within the Party; must be strong in discipline; must abide by the resolutions of the Party and execute such resolutions consciously, conscientiously and with a feeling of responsibility for the welfare and security of the Party.

May Allah the Almighty protect the movement of S.I. and may He assist us in charity and with a blessing for courage and material facilities for the achievement of t

sacred aspirations which are for the welfare and security of the Nation and of the Country (largely composed of Followers of Islam).

Insha Allah! [Arabic: Allah Willing!]

Djakarta 16 February 1960

Ad-Hoc Committee

III-Executive Board PSII Conference

(15 - 18 Febr. 1960, Djakarta).

Appendix No. 27

Statement of P.S.I.I. (Abikusno) regarding

Govt. Reg. No. 7/1959 and No. 13/1960

Bismillahi'rrahmani'rrahim.

The Central Committee of P.S.I.I. in its session in July 1960, with due consideration of the Aims and Purpose of the Party, and based on the Power of Attorney received from the III-rd Plenary Session of the Executive Board of February 1960:

I. Taking notice of:

(1) the Decree of the President/Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Indonesia dated 5 July 1959, which emphasized that the Djakarta Charter of 1945 embodies the 1945 Constitution and reflects the framework of oneness with said Constitution;

(2) the Statement of the President of the Republic of Indonesia on 17 August 1959 which was consequently declared the Political Manifesto of the Government/Aims of the Government, and which in parts determined:

(a) that the purpose of the Indonesian Revolution shall be the improvement of the lot of the People in every and any aspect, morally and physically, as a free Nation;

(b) that in order to realize those aims the struggle

must be continued on the course of the Indonesian Revolution, returning entirely to the true course set by the spirit of the 1945 Revolution.

(c) that the replacement of the Provisional 1950 Constitution by the 1945 Constitution is in particular to achieve complete consciousness that:

the nature and the end of the Revolution of the Indonesian People shall be no less than to fulfill the demands of the Aims and Purpose of the fight proclaimed on 17 August 1945;

(d) that the Aims and Purpose of the Revolution shall never be altered or amended;

(e) that the Conception embodied by the Revolution for Indonesian Independence of 17 August 1945 shall be the Supreme Command of Indonesian National Life which shall be obeyed by the entire Nation and Country of Indonesia; which shall be achieved for the welfare and security of the People;

(3) the Principles of Guided Democracy which is truly the Aims of the 1945 Constitution and therefore also the Aims of the Djakarta Charter of 22 June 1945 which embody it, which are stipulated in Paragraph 4 of the Preamble to the 1945 Constitution:

Democracy guided by the Wisdom of mutual Consultation.

(which is guided by the Wisdom of) representation and
(which is guided by the Wisdom of) achieving social justice for all the People.

(4) the Oath of the Supreme Commander, the Late General Sudirman on behalf of the entire Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia on 25 May 1946, which in parts stated:

"To be prepared to obey and serve the Government of the Republic of Indonesia which fulfills its responsibilities under the 1945 Constitution and which defends freedom in the fullest sense of the word".

II. Having considered:

(1) In concord with the Presidential Decree of 5 June 1959 (that the Djakarta Charter embodies the 1945 Constitution and reflects the framework of oneness with said Constitution) which clearly shows that the purpose of the course of the 1945 Revolution, the conception of the struggle embodied in the Revolution of 17 August 1945, the basis and aims of freedom proclaimed on 17 August 1945, the Supreme Command of the National Life of Indonesia, shall be no other than the Djakarta Charter of 22 June 1945;

(2) the duty of the People of Indonesia who for the greater part are Followers of Islam shall be:

(a) to accept and defend, and to demand from the Go-

vernment to implement to the fullest extend the 1945 Constitution which is embodied in the Djakarta Charter of 22 June 1945.

(b) to place the basis of the Work Program upon the essence of the Statement of the President on 17 August 1959 (Political Manifesto/Government Policy) which was expounded above.

(c) to demand the repeal of all the regulations and provisions which have been enforced by Law, Government regulations and Presidential Provisions and whose nature, character and tendencies may:

- (i) divert the efforts from the aims of the Revolution in accordance with the 1945 Constitution which is embodied in the Djakarta Charter.
- (ii) be detrimental to the Indonesian National life and weaken the endeavours to achieve the purpose of the 1945 Revolution (the improvement of the life of the People in every aspect as a Free Nation).
- (iii) obstruct the freedom of action in advancing the Islam Faith.

III. Resolves:

1. The Sjarikat Islam Party (Abikusno) accepts and defends the Aims and Purpose of the Republic of Indonesia

based on the 1945 Constitution which is embodied in the Djakarta Charter of 22 June 1945; holds itself responsible to the Madjelis Taklim (Congress) PSII - XXX to be held in June 1961, that the basic principle hereof to be made part of the Constitution of P.S.I.I.

2. The Sjarikat Islam Party (Abikusno) can work on the basis of the Statement of the President on 17 August 1959 (Political Manifesto/Government Policy); conscientiously observe the conduct of Government and to be prepared to protest any act or policy of the Government which can endanger the principles of the 1945 Constitution and the Djakarta Charter which it embodies.

3. The Sjarikat Islam Party (Abikusno) prays that the Indonesian Nation who upholds the aspirations of the Revolution for Independence and who is loyal to the Constitution, with the Charity and Blessing of Allah the Almighty may find an even road, full ability and moral and physical strength to achieve the realization of the sacred aspirations:

To establish a just and prosperous Indonesian Society a strong and free democratic society, with no exploitation of man by man; a continuously growing society; progressing strong and modern and upholding Sjarikat Islam; a society of true socialism à la Indonesia with the

Mercy and Blessing of Allah the Almighty:

A Society Baldatun Tojjibatun Wa Rabbun Ghafoer for
all the brave masses of Indonesia!

Amen, ja Lathiefu ja Khabier!

Allaahu Akbar!

Djakarta 15 July 1960

Executive Board Central Committee P.S.I.I.

President:

signed

(Abikusno Tjokrosujoso)

Vice-President:

signed

(H. Ahmad Masruri)

Acting Secr. Genral

Appendix No. 37

Summary

Partai Sjarikat Islam Indonesia

1. P.S.I.I. (Abikusno) was established as the Great Corrective Action of 25 September 1956 against Reactionary Anti-S.I. elements (the Anwar-Arudji Clique) which executed a Coup d'Etat within the Executive Board of the Party on 6 September 1956.

Thus, on the day of the issuance of the Decree of the President/Commander-in-Chief on 5 July 1959, P.S.I. (Abikusno) has already been in existence for 3 years and has already been growing steadily and extensively throughout the Country.

2. The number of registered Branches of P.S.I.I. (Abikusno) has already reached 524, scattered all over Autonomous Areas Level I and Level II of Indonesia.

3. The membership of P.S.I.I. (Abikusno) is estimated at over 250,000 persons; the entire membership consists of Indonesian citizens of good standing and good character and none of foreign nationality. Explanation:

Aside from full members, P.S.I.I. (Abikusno) has approximately 500,000 member-candidates and approxi

1,500,000 P.S.I.I. sympathizers. The registration of the above categories for membership is being carried out gradually.

4. The average membership of the Branches of P.S.I.I. ranges from 50 to 750 persons and over; all are over 18 years old and all have fulfilled their responsibilities as members, also in matters of membership dues to the Party.

5. From the Central Board (Central Committee) down to the Branches of P.S.I.I. in the areas and districts, P.S.I.I. has never received any funds or other assistance from foreign quarters (with or without the approval of the Government).

Neither has P.S.I.I. (Abikusno) ever received any assistance from the Government, directly or indirectly.

6. In order to meet the proviso of Govt. Regulation No. 7/1959 and No. 13/1960, the Central Committee of P.S.I.I. on 15 July 1960 immediately instructed the Branches of P.S.I.I. (Abikusno) throughout Indonesia to register their members anew, witnessed by the Local Authorities of the Government.

Considering the State of War Emergency, the problems of communication and the difficulties in obtaining the ne-

cessary material, certain delays in completing the task are possible. Said problems are hoped to receive due consideration and at the completion of the necessary task to be done, it shall be immediately submitted to the authorities concerned.

7. Wa'llaahu Walayut't Taufieq Wa'l Hidajah.

[Arabic: Islam prayer, meaning not known].

Djakarta 15 July 1960

Executive Board of Centr. Committee PSII

President:

Vice-President:

signed

signed

(Abikusno Tjokrosujoso)

(H. Ahmad Masruri)

Serial No. Centr. Comm.

Serial No. Centr. Comm.

860

861

Acting Secr. General.

Contract # 2218

END